2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

cash income, earned by several adult members in joint work, or equal to about one half of a teacher's monthly salary. The girl brings a dowry consisting of furniture, household utensils, and other things, so, as one person said, the groom is repaid in one form or another. In former times the men had to pay a fine to the parents of the bride if she married out of the village (Suttles, personal communication; Tamura, 1927 translation:44).

Even under present conditions the wedding ceremony is colorful compared to most other private ceremonies. All guests attend in their best clothes and the bride wears a special kimono and a special wig hair dress. She is seated next to the groom, who wears Western-style clothes instead of the traditional silk kimono. The whole ceremony is presided over by the go-betweens. While preliminaries take place, the bride sits almost motionless. Her face expresses what Glacken describes as "undescribable gloom" (1955:218). This continues even through the climax of the event, the ceremonial exchange of wine which symbolizes the union of the participants. During this part of the ceremony the guests, who have been enjoying food and sake and talking amicably, give this moment a solemn meaning by their silence. Speeches by the go-between and other notables follow. The virtue of the bride and her family and of the groom are told and acknowledged by a thank-you address by the groom. Parents of the couple sit close to them but have no other function than to accept congratulations. The bride then goes around introducing herself to the guests.

Children are not present at this event. They line up outside the house and peek through openings to see the bride and watch the guests, who start dances as soon as good food and wine take effect. After the formal part of the wedding, the feast ends like any such event in the village—with great gaiety. The bride acts as hostess; she changes from her kimono and heavy hair dress into more suitable clothes and sees that the guests are well taken care of. The length of this feast depends, of course, on how much food and drink the family is able to provide. Finally, when all guests have left, the bride and groom retire to the bedroom which has been reserved for them, sometimes furnished with one or two pieces, a chest of drawers or a Western-style closet supplied by the bride's family. The bride also provides the comforter for the marriage bed. Friends of the groom may play a prank and replace the normal-sized comforter with a small one, "so that the marriage is consumated quicker," as they say.

Sexual relations between husband and wife are not discussed in public except in jocular references. In spite of the intimacy of household members in the confinement of a small house, one attempts to

keep others from noticing sex activities. Keeping sex a private matter does not mean that there is a feeling of shame or guilt. It is considered a natural function, and although they do not discuss marital relations, men feel free to mention sex and its pleasurable aspects. Such conversations seem to cause some embarrassment among the younger women but are thought entertaining by older ones.

To men, sex, like food and drink, is to be enjoyed and indulged in. Women, too, enjoy sex but are more reticent and give much less overt expression to their desires. There are stories about women who are sexually aggressive, but they are either characters in the folklore or women of a neighboring village who are said to be this way "because they don't work hard enough." Men enjoy sex activity until an advanced age. One man over 60 whose wife had long been dead twice took a young woman as second wife; in both cases the women left him after a short period, but dissatisfaction with his sexual capacity was supposedly not the cause. Several children in Taira were fathered by men who had passed their sixtieth birthday. People believe that potency depends on physical well-being and age, but that it can be produced by a special drink consisting of sake in which a poisonous snake, the *habu*, is steeped. As soon as one finishes drinking this brew, its effects should be felt. Sake, meat, and eggs are also thought to increase potency.

Women's breasts are considered sexually stimulating. Men like to caress the breasts and the skin in general. Kissing occurs during foreplay only among some younger couples; older people do not care for it. In a room or house, shared with others, few couples undress fully for intercourse. Moving the baby to one side of the mat or mattress, a husband joins his wife.

There are no pre- or postparturition taboos; relations continue throughout pregnancy and are resumed about a week after childbirth, when the wife has taken her first bath. Men tend to disregard the public health nurse's urging that women be given a little longer rest.

That extra marital affairs do occur is evidenced by the presence of illegitimate children. But the mothers are likely to be widows or girls who for one reason or another did not get married at the usual age. Deformity may be a reason for not finding a husband. Two children in Taira were claimed to be the issue of an incestuous relationship between a man and his widowed daughter. Although the children were conceived and born outside the village, people became suspicious after the family returned to Taira. Because the putative father failed to deny paternity strongly, villagers felt certain that their suspicions

The activities at the moo-ashibii and the yagamayaa undoubtedly led in many cases to secret sexual relations. Probably most young men in the country first experienced sex as a result of intrigues developing through these activities. Young women differed more in their experience. Daughters of the gentry may have had little or none. Some girls who did go to the moo-ashibii, it is said, went merely to hear the singing. Those who behaved promiscuously were talked about and the reputation they gained lasted. Yet it seems unlikely that chastity was valued very highly or that virginity was expected at marriage. One young woman had heard in Japan how husbands sometimes divorced their wives upon finding after marriage that they were not virgins. She had never heard of this having been done on Okinawa and neither she nor her mother could even give an Okinawan equivalent of the Japanese word 'shojo', "virgin". 393 836 [171]

Formerly among the gentry class in Naha and Shuri it was customary for a father to take his son, or have a relative or friend take him, to a jurimyaa to let him have his first sexual experience. According to Yanagida,[1] until the last decades of the last century this was part of a young man's coming-of-age celebration held at the beginning of his 13th (15th?) year; the juri who functioned in this capacity were called niisee-chuurasaa, "those who make youths into men". 833 565 178 548

At the present time the rural moo-ashibii and yagamayaa are probably less important institutions than they formerly were, but they undoubtedly do still exist. At present there are more occasions when young people of the opposite sex can meet and feel that it is proper to do so. In the pre-war counterparts of the Youth Organization and in the schools the sexes were separate. Now they mingle more freely. The need to meet in groups in a half-clandestine manner is not so great. Now as before real intrigues are conducted in secret, but something approaching an open courtship is now possible. 178 813 [584]

Marriage: Preliminaries Until recently marriages were nearly always arranged by the family for the good of the family. The object in arranging a match was to acquire a daughter-in-law to produce heirs for and to keep house for the son. The couple themselves were consulted and one of them could refuse the match if it were really disagreeable, but more often they agreed to it. At present young people often choose for themselves, but even so they may abandon a desired marriage if it is strongly opposed by one or more of the parents. 584 178 [581]

In the past moo-ashibii may have led to marriage in some cases but more often it did not, even when liaisons resulted in children. At present young unmarried men and women associate more freely in public, and mutual attraction may lead to a relationship more like the Western courtship leading to marriage. This had been especially true since the war.

Formal Ceremonies As in many societies there are more formal and less formal ways of marrying. The preliminaries to the older family-arranged marriage usually begin with a proposal by the young man's family. If the 584

[1] Yanagida, 1951, p. 309.

[Kochinda-son]

The ages of the mothers at the first illegitimate birth are shown below. Unmarried mothers naturally had their first illegitimate child sooner than did the widows, but the amount of overlap in ages is worthy of note. 348

Table XXI

Ages	Unmarried Mothers	Widows	Total
16	1		1
17	1		1
18	5		5
19	5		5
20	4		4
21	8		8
22	10		10
23	9	1	10
24	5	1	6
25	4	2	6
26	5	1	6
27	1	3	4
28	2		2
29	1		1
30		3	3
31		6	6
32			-
33			-
34		2	2
35		3	3
36		1	1
37		4	4
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41		1	1
Unknown	13	1	14
Total	74	29	103

Relation to Household Head In Kochinda-son twenty categories were found of relationship of the household head to the illegitimate child. However, just three categories---mother, mother's father, and uncle---account for 64% of the cases. The distribution is shown in Table XXII.

582 178 average age at the time of marriage, investigation into the registries reveals that the range has narrowed somewhat. Formerly some girls married at thirteen and fourteen; today this would be considered rather unusual.

[177] The Japanese administration attempted to discourage endogamous marriage practices, particularly kin-group endogamy. All agreed that the practice has declined; yet in Kanegusuku nearly 50% of all marriages were within the kin group and 66% of all marriages were within the village. An analysis of these figures on an age basis indicates the practice is declining there.

● 833 178 843 Sex It is said that sexual standards have changed in that there is less sexual license among the young people and that they tend to have their first relations at a later age than formerly. This is attributed in part to the moral training of the schools. Another factor seems to be the general decline of several informal village institutions which permitted young people considerable sexual freedom. One informant stated that those who continue on to high school and university generally have their first experience at a later age than those who attend only junior high school.

642 177 641 [625] [646] Government The Japanese introduced a modern system of government, abolished the Okinawan aristocracy, and granted suffrage to all males of twenty-five or more years. The American Civil Administration has attempted to liberalize laws and to make possible a greater degree of self-government. Police powers have been limited, universal suffrage has been introduced, and the number of elected officials has been increased.

621 178 To date there has been little change within the village, where suffrage and office-holding remain limited to household heads. Villagers acknowledge that there is greater freedom for action at the local level today; yet they are not desirous of obtaining greater self-government. They feel that it would require too much of their time and that there is too little money available to finance its operation. Village leadership is virtually unchanged. Change where it has occurred has been initiated at a higher level.

632 178 At the township level the electorate has been broadened to include all persons, male and female, over twenty years of age. The mayor who was formerly appointed is now elected to office.

771 177 178 793 Religion There has been a general decline in the indigenous Okinawan religion, effected by Japanese policy, wartime attrition, and the spread of education. Formerly a hierarchy of priestesses extended from the kin group through the community and region to the person of the king's sister, the chief priestess. The Japanese removed the top echelons of this hierarchy, but the kin group and community priestesses continued to function. World War II resulted in the death of many religious functionaries, and as the office is usually hereditary within a specific family and often limited to a particular member of that family, there has often been no replacement for the office. Lastly there is an increasing tendency among the young people, due to the influence of the school, to regard religion as superstition.

796 178 Many villages, especially those without religious functionaries, have discontinued all village ceremonies, and in those few remarkable exceptions